

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-10
NSAE-00 PA-02 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 TRSE-00 DHA-05
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O R 261913Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
TO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 7576
USMISSION NATO

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 REYKJAVIK 1169

USIAC FOR IPS, IOP, IEU

USNATO FOR USIS

E.O. 11652: N/A
SUBJECT: LUNS ADDRESS

1. HIGHLIGHTS OF SECRETARY GENERAL JOSEPH LUNS ADDRESS TO
THE ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE ATLANTIC TREATY ASSOCIATION IN
REYKJAVIK, 26 AUGUST, 1977:

"GRADUALLY OVER THE LAST FIVE YEARS OR SO IT HAS BECOME
CLEAR TO OUR PUBLIC THAT THE SOVIET UNION AND HER ALLIES
ARE CONSTANTLY INCRASING THEIR MILITARY STRENGTH IN SPITE
OF THE FACT THAT THEIR MILITARY SECURITY SEEMS COMPLETE.
IT HAS ALSO BECOME CLEAR THAT BESIDES MAINTAINING AN
ESSENTIAL MILITARY DEFENCE THE ALLIANCE IS AN INDISPENSABLE
INSTRUMENT FOR THE PURSUIT OF DETENTE POLICIES BASED ON
MILITARY STABILITY.

2. "IN THOSE OF OUR COUNTRIES WHERE THE DEBATE ABOUT
FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES TRADITIONALLY IS LIVELIEST,
OPINION SURVEYS SHOW THAT FOR EVERY 20 PERSONS WHO
SOLIDLY SUPPORT THE ALLIANCE THERE IS ONLY ONE WHO
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OPPOSES IT.

3. "I DO NOT INTEND TO JOIN IN THE CURRENT DEBATE
ON THE STATE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UINION
AND ON WHAT THE WEST COULD AND SHOULD DO ABOUT IT.
THAT SUBJECT DESERVES A SPEECH TO ITSELF. HOWEVER,
I WOULD LIKE TO UNDERLINE ONE SIDE-EFFECT OF THIS

DEBATE WHICH IS NOT OFTEN RECOGNIZED BY WESTERN COMMENTATORS. THE STRONG SOVIET REACTION TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S STAND ON HUMAN RIGHTS, AND THE DEGREE OF CONFRONTATION THAT HAS BEEN INJECTED INTO THE DEBATE, HAS HAD A CONSEQUENCE ON WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION WHICH COULD NOT HAVE BEEN FORESEEN. TO ME, A MOST IMPRESSIVE FEATURE OF THE DEBATE ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS BEEN THE GROUND-SWELL OF WESTERN PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR A STAND IN THE DEFENCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS EVERYWHERE. THE FORCE OF THIS PUBLIC REACTION HAS, I SUSPECT, SURPRISED NOT ONLY MANY IN THE EAST BUT ALSO IN THE WEST AS WELL.

4. "AS MATTERS HAVE DEVELOPED, THIS DEBATE HAS DRAWN PUBLIC ATTENTION TO THE REAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN OUR OWN OPEN SOCIETIES AND THAT SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT WHICH THE SOVIETS WISH TO IMPOSE AND HAS BROUGHT INTO SHARPER FOCUS WHAT IT IS WE MUST DEFEND. ALTHOUGH UNPLANNED AND UNEXPECTED, THIS INCIDENTAL SIDE-EFFECT OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS DEBATE IS, I BELIEVE, OF CONSIDERABLE SIGNIFICANCE. THE HUMAN RIGHTS DISCUSSION THEREFORE, AS IT HAS EVOLVED, HAS BECOME OF GREAT IMPORTANCE IN CLARIFYING WHAT IS AT STAKE AS REGARDS NOT ONLY THE THREAT FROM OUTSIDE BUT ALSO THE MANY-FACETED ELEMENTS THREATENING OUR SOCIETIES AND SECURITY FROM THE INSIDE.

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5. "FOR LONG WE HAVE LIVED WITH THE FACT THAT THE WARSAW PACT HAS BEEN NUMERICALLY SUPERIOR TO NATO AND THAT OUR QUALITATIVE SUPERIORITY OFFSETS OUR NUMERICAL INFERIORITY. HOWEVER, OVER THE PAST TEN YEARS WE HAVE SEEN A MASIVE SOVIET PROGRAMME OF MILITARY EXPENDITURE. AS A RESULT THEY HAVE TODAY ACHIEVED EQUIVALENCE WITH THE UNITED STATES IN THE NUCLEAR STRATEGIC FIELD. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY HAVE DONE THEIR UTMOST TO ERODE THE WESTERN TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANTAGE IN THE CONVENTIONAL FIELD. AND THEY HAVE EXPANDED THEIR MARITIME POWER SO THAT IT NOW CONSTITUTES A VERY REAL CHALLENGE TO OUR COUNTRIES. WHAT IS OF FURTHER CONCERN IS THAT THESE IMPROVEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE FIRST AND FOREMOST TO THE WARSAW PACT'S OFFENSIVE CAPABILITIES. AND THESE TRENDS SHOW EVERY SIGN OF CONTINUING INTO THE FUTURE.

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FM AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
TO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE
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USMISSION NATO

UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 REYKJAVIK 1169

6. "THE RISK OF A DANGEROUS IMBALANCE OF FORCES CANNOT BE REDUCED BY FRIENDLY WORDS. SOVIET POWER CAN BE KEPT WITHIN LIMITS ONLY BY COUNTERVAILING POWER. WE MUST REMEMBER THAT THE PRESENT BALANCE OF FORCES WE FACE IN EUROPE IS THE PRODUCT OF DECISIONS TAKEN IN BOTH EAST AND WEST FIVE OR TEN YEARS AGO. THE DECISIONS WE TAKE TODAY WILL DETERMINE WHAT THE BALANCE WILL LOOK LIKE IN SOME FIVE YEARS. A LACK OF POSITIVE DECISIONS, THEREFORE, COULD UPSET THE BALANCE OF FORCES IN THE 1980S.

7. "IT WAS AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND THAT NATO HEADS OF GOVERNMENTS AND DEFENCE MINISTERS IN MAY DECIDED ON A SERIES OF STEPS TO IMPROVE NATO'S MILITARY POSTURE, BOTH IMMEDIATELY AND IN THE LONGER TERM. I PARTICULARLY WELCOME THE AGREEMENT BY ALL ALLIED COUNTRIES THAT, IN ORDER TO AVOID A CONTINUED DETERIORATION IN RELATIVE FORCE CAPABILITIES, THERE WILL BE AN ANNUAL INCREASE IN THE REGION OF 3 PERCENT IN REAL TERMS IN DEFENCE BUDGETS.

8. "NATURALLY, WE WOULD MUCH PREFER THAT THE CURRENT WORRYING TRENDS SHOULD BE ARRESTED AND REVERSED BY
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REALISTIC AGREEMENTS WITH THE WARSAW PACT ON ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT. WE HAVE THERE TO CONTINUE TO SEEK SUCH AGREEMENTS WITH PATIENCE AND RESOLVE.

9. "WHAT IS NEEDED IS SPECIFIC EFFORTS TO REDUCE THE LEVEL OF ARMAMENTS THROUGH REALISTIC MEASURES CONSISTENT WITH THE LEGITIMATE CONCERN OF BOTH SIDES. PRESIDENT CARTER HAS GIVEN A LEAD WITH A SERIES OF INITIATIVES AIMED AT PREVENTING A FURTHER EXPANSION IN STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND AT BEGINNING THE EVEN MORE DIFFICULT PROCESS OF REDUCING THEIR NUMBER.

10. "I SHOULD LIKE AT THIS STAGE TO SAY A FEW WORDS ABOUT AN ISSUE WHICH HAS AROUSED A GOOD DEAL OF ATTENTION AND INDEED CONTROVERSY AMONG THE PUBLIC: THE NEUTRON WEAPON, OR, MORE ACCURATELY, THE ENHANCED RADIATION WARHEAD. AS YOU KNOW, PRESIDENT CARTER HAS STILL TO TAKE A DECISION REGARDING THE PRODUCTION OF THIS WEAPON. IF IT IS A POSITIVE ONE, THE QUESTION OF DEPLOYMENT WILL OF COURSE BE A MATTER FOR CONSULTATION WITH ALLIES.

11. "...THE AIM OF ALL WEAPONS IS TO PUT ARMED FORCES OUT OF ACTION. THE MAIN CHARACTERISTIC OF THE ENHANCED RADIATION WARHEAD IS THAT IT CAUSES LESS COLLATERIAL DAMAGE THAN OTHER TYPES OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. LET US BE CLEAR WHAT THIS MEANS. THE ENHANCED RADIATION WARHEAD NOT ONLY CAUSES LESS DAMAGE TO PROPERTY - A POINT GENERALLY EMPHASIZED BY WESTERN COMMENTATORS. IT ALSO WOULD MINIMIZE CASUALTIES AMONG POPULATIONS OUTSIDE THE MILITARY TARGET. IN OTHER WORDS THE RISK TO CIVILIANS WOULD BE GREATLY REDUCED - A POINT, SURELY, OF GREAT IMPORTANCE.

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12. "OUR COUNTRIES HAVE AN INHERENT STRENGTH WHICH MAKES US FORMIDABLE DEFENDERS OF OUR WAY OF LIFE. THIS STRENGTH IS DERIVED FROM OUR SYSTEM WHICH RELEASES RATHER THAN INHIBITS ALL SIDES TO HUMAN ENDEAVOUR AND GIVES LIFE ITSELF MEANING. AND MY LAST POINT IS THAT ONLY A WAY OF LIFE WHICH IS BASED ON THE CONSENT OF ALL HAS ANY REAL MEANING AND IS ABLE TO GENERATE THE SUPPORT NEEDED FOR ITS OWN PROTECTION".
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